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a Bankalachi (WM) informant. All informants speak of her as a powerful but good doctor who took part in the doctors' contest against men shamans. Her son, however, to whom she taught all her knowledge, used it for evil purposes:

Wuni was the last chief at the Tule River reservation. He was a Yaudanchi; he was a good man respected by all; he had only a little money.

Watisti had a lot of power. He had "all kinds" of supernatural talismans and dream helpers. He could make rattlesnakes bite people at any time of the year, yet such snakes were not visible to the victim.

Now Watisti disliked Wuni; he was jealous of his popularity. He sent a magic "shot" at Wuni. Though the "shot" entered at one place it scattered sickness all through his body. He died in a few days while Watisti pretended he was trying to cure him.

Upon the death of this chief several men wanted to avail themselves of the opportunity to kill Watisti. The shaman had been accused of several killings but this was the first they could "get" on him. Wuni was the last chief, so they consulted no one. On a Christmas morning under the leadership of Pete Suhusa, Yaudanchi (Y), another Yandanchi, named Poncho, Bill Waley, a Wobonuch (WM) visiting at the reservation, and Juan Tcinu went to Watisti's house. He lived alone. Tcinu was sent to the house to tell the doctor that some people up the creek wanted to see him. When Tcinu and Watisti reached the spot where the others were in ambush they all shot at the doctor. Watisti had a talisman with him. He pulled it out, waved it, and flew through the air for a little distance but he was shot again and was killed. Watisti's mother had been dead a long time. He had no relatives that anyone can recall except his mother-in-law, who was alive at the time. She was very angry over his death and went about telling relatives of the avengers, "You're going to get a red cane," meaning that the winatum, who carried a cane ornamented with red paint, would be going about announcing their death.

CHIEFS AND SHAMANS

The foregoing accounts give ample evidence of the baleful effect that shamans had upon native life in south central California. That their success was largely due to what was doubtless imaginary powers does not matter; they played an awe-inspiring, dominating rôle whatever its basis. The penalty of death which was dealt shamans did not deter the strong-minded. The acquisition of wealth and power was worth the risk to the man who possessed the talents needed for the fulfilment of his ambitions.

The question naturally arises, what were the relations between the chiefs who wielded legal power, and these impressive non-officials of anti-social activities? As a matter of fact there seems to have been more harmony than conflict owing to a system of reciprocal services; a system which greatly increased the wealth of the chief on the one

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hand, and protected the shaman from the violence of avenging relatives on the other.

In every tribe a powerful shaman was the close friend and associate of the chief. This alliance operated in various ways as the following accounts show. (In an earlier section we referred to the fact that theoretically no one was compelled to contribute to the annual mourning ceremony, or any other ceremony, for that matter, but that dire results often befell those who did not do so.) George Dick, himself of chiefly lineage, and grandson and grandnephew of two powerful shamans, described instances of cooperation of chiefs and shamans among the Entimbich (Y) and Wobonuch (WM):

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If a man, especially a rich one, did not join in a fandango, the chief and his doctors would plan to make this man or some member of his family sick. The doctor would sicken his victim with the "air-shot" (toiyuc) used in the doctors' contest. The doctor sees to it that he is called in to make the cure. He makes several successive attempts to cure his victim, each time being paid for his services. He withholds his cure until he has financially broken the man and got him in debt. If he then cures the patient he sucks the shot out and shows it to the bystanders, saying that Night or a spring has made him ill.[88] On the other hand, he may let the person die, in which case the family must perforce join in the next mourning ceremony.

The money which the shaman has collected as fees in the case he divides with the chief. Should the victim's relatives seek vengeance, for which they must obtain the chief's permission, the chief refuses his sanction on the ground of insufficient evidence. Hadn't the doctor shown that Night had caused the illness?

The machinations of chiefs and shamans were so well established that it was possible to make arrangements for intertribal killings:

A chief may be jealous of a rich man in another tribe. If he wants him killed he sends his winatum to several other chiefs of near-by tribes, including that of the ill-fated man, asking them to come to a certain place on a certain night. Tawatsanahahi (Baker's Hill) was a favorite spot for these meetings. The various chiefs together with their doctors come at the stated time. There might be ten to fifteen present, including the doctors and the chiefs' trusted winatums.

The chief who called the meeting addresses the group saying that he (and perhaps others) want to do away with this certain man, and asks those present for their opinion in the matter. The people who want the man killed put up a sum of money to pay the doctors who are to do the killing. If the doomed man's chiefs want him saved they have to double this sum and give it to the opposing chiefs. If they do not do so they automatically sanction the man's death. The case is decided right there at the time. Very often such a man is killed not because he is rich but because "he knows too much" (about doings of chiefs, etc.) or because some man wants the victim's wife, and has bribed the chief to have the man killed. If the man is to be killed the doctors start right in to do it. "No matter how far off that man may be the doctors will be able to kill him."[89]

[88] Springs of water frequently made people ill, by sending sickness in the form of a water insect. Night and Water are both personified.

[89] See anecdote, p. 391.

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622 There was still another way in which persons were done away with
756 through chiefs and their shamans:

674 If one man wanted another killed he would go to a snake doctor just after
754 the snake dance had been held. He would tell the doctor what he wanted and would give him a trust fee. "He gets about $100 if he is a big doctor; $50 if not so big. He is pretty likely to get killed so he asks for a lot." Then the doctor goes and consults his chief. The chief usually gives permission for the man's death after accepting $25 or $30. The doctor again interviews his patron and tells him that he will kill the man whenever desired. The patron sets the date, usually for the fall of the same year. Eventually the victim of the conspiracy is bitten by a rattlesnake sent by the snake doctor, and dies.

The dead man's relatives go at once to their chief (or others, as the snake dance was an intertribal affair) demanding to know how it came about that this man was bitten after having participated in the preventive snake ceremony. If the chief questioned knows the truth he accepts money offered by the inquirers and tells all, even betraying the doctor—for sufficient money. If he knows nothing, or is loyal to the doctor, he refuses the money, and even gives the relatives a small sum to help them find the culprit.

When the doctor is at last discovered the relatives return home. They tell their chief that they want to kill the doctor. He tells them "to get their bows and go
683 kill that doctor and all his brothers, even if they are innocent. If the brothers aren't killed they'll be sure to do something mean (retaliate). This is a good old Indian law."

A Wukchumni informant[80] gives a briefer version of a similar condition in his own and the neighboring Yaudanchi tribe:

The chief always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a ceremony. If he got short of money he would have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If the victim chosen belonged to another tribe he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking that he have his doctor kill the man. If the chief accepted the money he had his doctor proceed with the process of sickening and killing the man. The money received was divided between the chief and the doctor. Doctors who killed this way made sure that the patient would finally send for him by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.

Usually we had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

The Kechayi informant made a brief statement which hints at the guilt of chiefs in such matters:

Sometimes a doctor would be killed if he lost a patient. A doctor and his chief would meet the bereaved family and their chief for the supposed purpose of making an adjustment. A discussion was held and "often the family killed the doctor and his chief right on the spot."

616 Gifford's data on the North Fork Mono of the upper San Joaquin
622 river show an analogous situation in regard to the powers and activi-
756 ties of chiefs and shamans.[81] In this region the moiety organization

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[80] Sam Garfield. [81] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

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prevailed but did not affect this phase of social life. The chief was always of the eagle moiety. Eagle's supremacy was recognized here just as it was to the south. Likewise too, the chiefs were open to bribe: "If a buzzard (moiety) poisoner wants to kill someone on the eagle side, he may go to the eagle captain and pay him for the privilege. In such a case the poisoner may be immune from punishment."

Another informant told Gifford that "the chiefs were bosses over the doctors," but such a statement has little specific significance.

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The doctors' contest, the most spectacular ritual in the mourning ceremony series, offered opportunity for doing away with undesirable shamans. In brief, this contest consisted of the magical killing of shamans who were ranged in opposing rows and "shot" at each other with magic "air-shot." Only the doctor who projected the fatal shot into a fallen opponent could withdraw it. If the shot were not removed the victim would not regain consciousness, and would die within a few days. Thus it occasionally happened that a chief would want a rival chief's doctor killed, in which case the shaman who had power to revive this man in the contest would be paid to withhold the cure. A pretense at curing would of course be made.

Almost all informants in describing the contest speak of the deliberate failure, at times, to revive one of the fallen doctors. Of the other methods of killing people, given above, to which the chiefs had recourse, little is said by most informants. Those who did admit that chiefs were in league with shamans, were all men with the exception of the Kechayi informant. The only detailed accounts of the intrigues of chiefs and shamans are those given above by the Entimbich and Wukchumni informants. That chiefs were not always the benevolent officials which Yokuts and Mono ideals claim them to be, either was not generally known or was not readily admitted.

MOTSA, A POISONER CHIEF

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The tribes living in the plains of the San Joaquin valley were the first in the region to suffer from the encroachment of white settlers and civilization. In the northern part of the valley the Indian population is entirely extinct and has been so for so long a period that nothing is known of their customs. In the southern half of the valley a few members of the tribes originally dwelling about Tulare lake are still alive. But even in the childhood of these Indians the old culture was in an advanced stage of degeneration: as early as 1870 remnants

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Motsa was not regarded as a doctor but as a poisoner. His supernatural power consisted in knowing of other people's affairs, making himself invisible, and having supernatural helpers. He did no doctors' dances, nor did he ever cure anyone. Neither could he kill with "air-shot," only with poison. But he had many friends who were professional doctors from whom he learned much. Pokoi'ik, a Nutunutu doctor of malicious intent, was his best friend.[63] Many of Motsa's activities were recounted by Josie Alonzo: [572]

1. Motsa and his friend Pokoi'ik went to Hanford where they both got drunk. Motsa said he was going to kill a certain young girl at the rancheria named Solit. She was married to Kaiyĕtsawa and had a baby girl. Soon after the men had been to Hanford where Motsa had made his threat, there was a Portuguese celebration near Lemoore which many Indians attended. Solit was there. Josie Alonzo was sitting across the table from her. Motsa came up and said to Solit, "Why don't you take that bone to your father-in-law?" Bystanders were horrified at this for Solit's father-in-law was dead.

"Why should she take it to a dead man?" they said.

"Well," said Motsa, "she'll be there (in the land of the dead) soon herself." Then he put his hands on the girl's shoulders.

Solit was terrified. Soon she and Josie went over to Josie's house. She became very sick; she tried to urinate but could not; her abdomen swelled up. She knew she was going to die. Later on in the evening Motsa walked into the house. He just stood and looked at Solit; he put his hands up to his shoulders (to remind her of his touch?). Then Josie, Solit, and others there went to bed.

In the middle of the night Solit called to Josie. She was very ill. Motsa suddenly appeared in the room. He wanted to rub the girl to cure her (a common curing methods of doctors) but neither Josie nor Solit would allow him to touch her. They sent for a white doctor but he was too late. When Solit died she had black spots all over her.

Motsa ran away and stayed out for a week as people were threatening to kill him.

2. Halhalis was a big chief (matuk tiya) of the Tachi Nutuwic moiety. He was a very good man; he worked hard and saved the money he earned. Motsa was jealous of him because he was younger, and richer, and better-looking than himself. Halhalis gave a big dinner at his house. At this dinner Motsa put poison in his meat and coffee. Halhalis' father-in-law was a very old man who had much supernatural power. He tried every way to cure the poisoned man but it was useless. Halhalis died. All his money was buried with him.

Now Halhalis' father-in-law was a great friend of Josie. He called her daughter, though actually she was a second cousin to him. Soon after Halhalis' death Motsa killed the old man out of spite because he had tried to save Halhalis. Motsa went into his house one night after he had gone to bed. There was a mosquito netting around the bed where the man lay. Motsa just rubbed his hand across the net and the old man began to cough. Motsa ran away when he heard the coughing. The next day the old man told his relatives what had happened; then he vomited blood and died.

3. The next death to be attributed to Motsa was that of Josie's brother, Wepis. Josie and Wepis were sitting in Josie's house one evening just at dusk.

[63] See anecdote, p. 396.